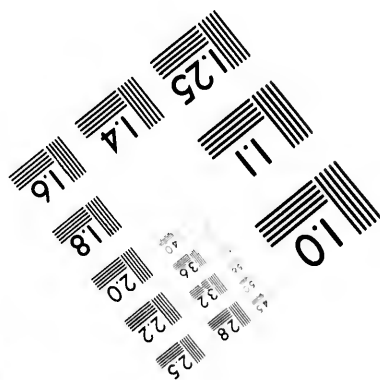
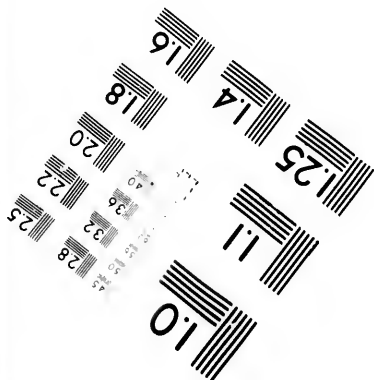
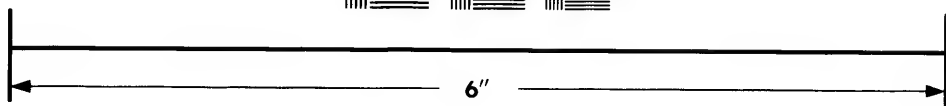
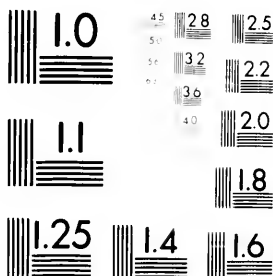


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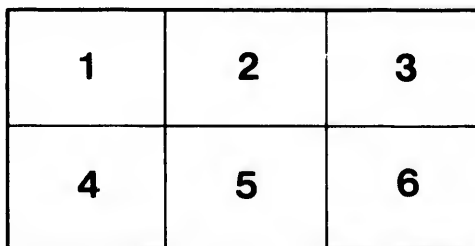
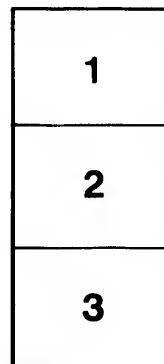
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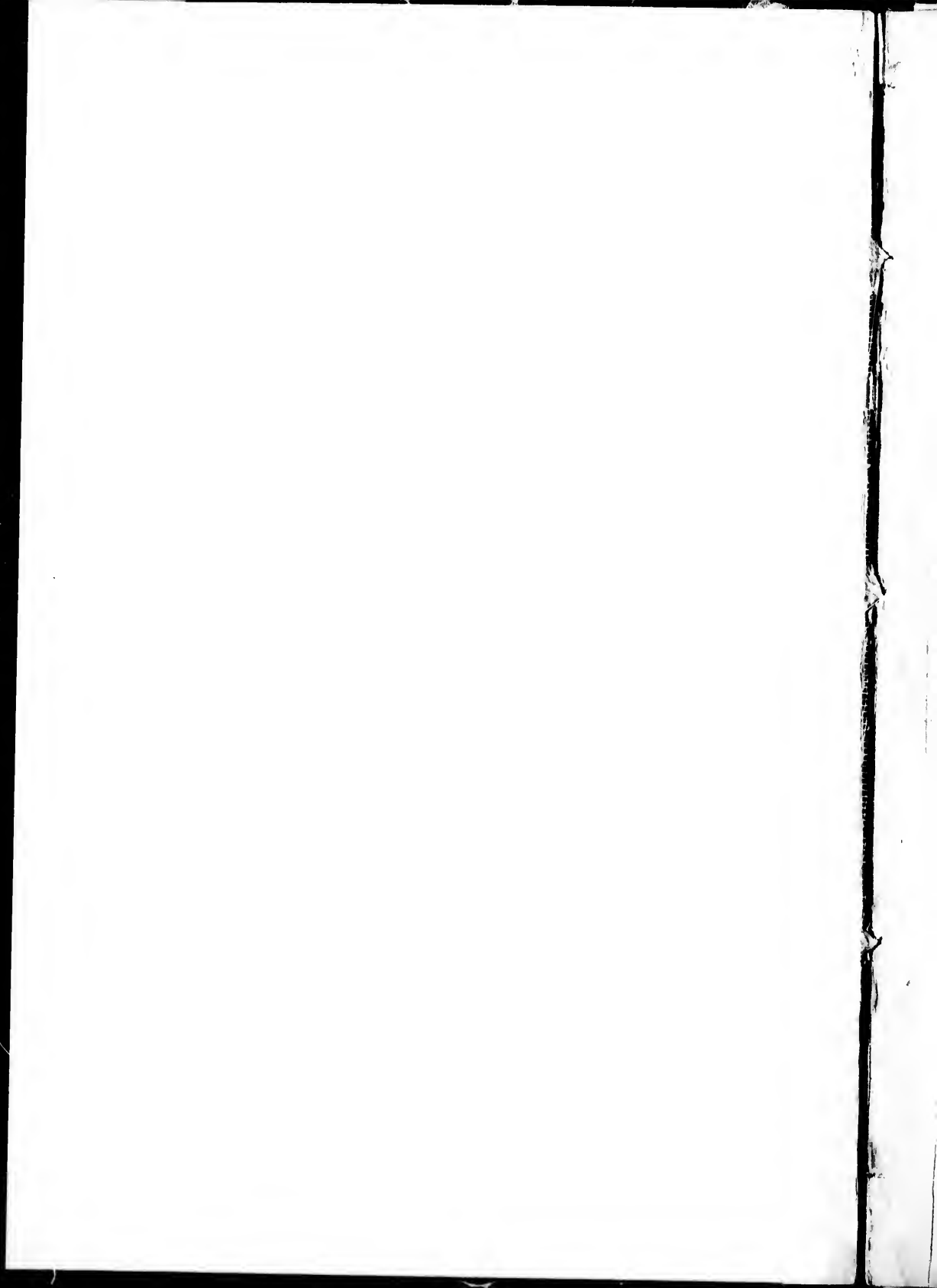
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# Was America peopled from Polynesia?

A study in comparative Philology.

*With Compliments of*

HORATIO HALE,

CLINTON, ONTARIO,

CANADA.

at Berlin, in October 1888.

nists

**Berlin 1890.**

Printed by H. S. Hermann.

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The suggestive programme of the Congress, in presenting the question „whether there are any grammatical affinities between the languages of the western coast of America and those of Polynesia“, proposes an inquiry of great interest. Authors who have written on the subject of the peopling of America have naturally had their attention drawn to the vast archipelago of small islands which seem to form stepping-stones across the Pacific between the two continents. Not a few writers, moved by certain superficial resemblances between the Polynesians and the Americans, and by well-authenticated accounts of long voyages which have been made by the islanders, have boldly assumed that at least one stream of emigration has reached the New World by this route. Some have even undertaken to point out the very course, or courses, which the voyagers pursued. On this particular point the opinions have varied widely. Some bring the Polynesian emigrants from the Hawaiian Islands to North America, while others trace them from the Tahitian group, through the Low Archipelago and the Gambier cluster, or by way of Easter Island, to the southern portion of the continent.

More cautious inquirers, however, have reserved their opinion in regard to this supposed Polynesian migration until it can be based on the only evidence which in such a question is decisive, — that of linguistic affinity. It was by this evidence that the connection between the Polynesians and the Malayans was determined. The like evidence has shown that the population of Madagascar was derived, not from Africa, as might naturally have been supposed, but from a Malayo-Polynesian source. If a genetic connection between the American aborigines and the Polynesians is to be established, it can only be by similar evidence. In this view the question proposed in the programme assumes a peculiar importance.

In attacking this problem, we are met at the threshold by what seems, at the first sight, an enormous and almost insurmountable difficulty. This obstacle is found in the aston-



ishing number of totally distinct languages which are spoken in the region bordering on the west coast of America. To appreciate this difficulty, we may contrast it with the simplicity of the problem which encountered those scholars who, in the last century, had to inquire into the connection between the Polynesian islanders and the races of Eastern Asia. Here the number of continental languages was small, and several of them, composing the monosyllabic group, were so utterly alien in character to the Polynesian tongues that no connection with them could reasonably be imagined. The comparison was practically narrowed down to some five or six idioms, — the Malayan family, the Korean language, the Japanese, the Ainu, and possibly one or two more northern tongues. In making this comparison, the resemblance between the Polynesian and the Malayan idioms became so instantly and decisively apparent that no doubt as to the conclusion could be felt by any scientific student of language.

On the American side, all is different. We find a long stretch of sea-coast, extending from north to south more than seven thousand miles, and inhabited by numerous tribes, speaking a vast number of distinct idioms, no one of which has any peculiar predominance, or presents any special characteristics inviting a comparison with the Polynesian tongues. The latest researches have shown that the total number of American languages spoken on or near the Pacific coast considerably exceeds a hundred, and that these belong to at least forty distinct stocks. On the latter point I can speak with some confidence. In making the ethnographic survey of Oregon, I found within the narrow limits of that territory, extending from Puget's sound to the northern boundary of California, and covering only seven degrees of latitude, no less than twenty-three languages, belonging to twelve stocks as distinct from one another as the Malayan is from the Japanese.

But of this large number of western American families, not one half have been studied grammatically. Of the rest we have merely vocabularies. This circumstance, while it might seem to lighten the labor of the comparison, would at the same time

leave it imperfect and inconclusive. To decide upon the connection of two languages without some knowledge of their grammatical forms is seldom entirely safe. If there are actually more than twenty stock-languages in this region, of whose grammar nothing is known, it would seem clear that a comparison of the Polynesian tongues with the smaller number which have been studied can lead to no decisive result.

But this difficulty, great as it seems, may be in a large measure overcome by the resources of linguistic science. Although, as has been said, we possess only vocabularies of the greater number of American coast idioms, yet, most fortunately, these vocabularies generally include what is really that portion of the grammar of each tongue which is of the first importance for determining the relationship of languages, — namely, the pronouns. It is only in recent times that the value of these elements in ascertaining the connection of tongues has become fully apparent to philologists. By their aid some of the most difficult and important problems in linguistic science have been solved. It is mainly through the clear evidence afforded by the comparison of the pronouns in the Semitic and Hamitic (or North African) tongues that we are now enabled to speak with confidence of a Hamito-Semitic family. The certainty that all the languages of Australia belong to one linguistic stock was acquired chiefly by a comparison of their pronouns. A glance at these pronouns, as they are brought together in the great work of Dr. Friedrich Müller, his „Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft“, leaves no possibility of doubt on this head. Again, as the same high authority points out, it is mainly by a comparison of the pronouns that the connection which Buschman traced between the Nahuatl tongue and the languages of Sonora and other northwestern provinces of Mexico is made clearly manifest. And, finally, it was chiefly through a comparison of the pronouns of the Iroquois and Cherokee languages that the affinity of these languages, which had long been suspected by philologists, was finally established. This comparison, I may add, was made by me in an essay which was read in 1882 before the Section of Anthropology in the

American Association for the Advancement of Science, and was afterwards published in the „American Antiquarian“ for 1883, and thence reproduced in pamphlet form. A prominent member of this Congress, in the meeting of 1884, at Copenhagen, with that pamphlet before him, criticized sharply my views on this point, and expressed his dissent from them in terms of severity not usual in scientific discussions. I think I may venture to presume that that gentleman is now satisfied of the correctness of my conclusions. He will not, I am sure, question the authority of Mr. A. S. Gatschet, the distinguished linguist of the American Bureau of Ethnology. Since my essay was published, Mr. Gatschet has carefully studied and compared the two languages, with a result entirely confirmatory of my views. This conclusion, sustained by ample data, was announced in a communication to the American Philological Association, and again in his important work on the „Migration Legend of the Creek Indians“. In the second volume of this work, recently published, at page 70, he says, briefly but positively, — „The Cherokee is an Iroquois dialect from northern parts, but was settled in the Apalachian mountains from time immemorial“. As the question, however, is one of much importance, and is to be decided, not by authority, but by evidence, — and as the value of this evidence has a direct bearing on our present inquiry, — its production here seems to be desirable. Recent inquiries, it may be added, have given a peculiar interest to this connection between the Iroquois and the Cherokees relative to the pre-Columbian history of North America, and especially in regard to the origin of the great earthworks of the Ohio valley. An association of Americanists cannot be willing that an error on such a point shall remain uncorrected in their published reports, however respectable may be the source from which this error proceeds. I may, therefore, be allowed to present a brief extract from my essay already referred to, comprising the grammatical evidence on which the opinion of this connection was based. Different minds have different opinions of what constitutes proof in such matters; but I think very few philologists will hesitate to

accept as decisive the evidence contained in the following passages.

„The similarity of the two tongues (the Iroquois and the Cherokee) apparent enough in many of their words, is most strikingly shown, as might be expected, in their grammatical structure, and especially in the affixed pronouns, which in both languages play so important a part. The resemblance may perhaps be best shown by giving the pronouns in the form in which they are combined with a suffixed syllable, to render the meaning expressed by the English self or alone, — „I myself“, or „I alone“:

	Iroquois	Cherokee
I alone	akoñhāa	akwuñsuñ
Thou alone	soñhāa	tsuñsuñ
He alone	raoñhāa (haoñhāa)	uwasuñ
We two alone	onkinoñhāa	ginuñsuñ
Ye two alone	senoñhāa (Huron, stonhāa <sup>1</sup> )	istuñsuñ
We alone (pl.)	onkioñhāa	ikuñsuñ
Ye alone	tsioñhāa (Huron. tsoñhāa)	itsuñsuñ
They alone	ronoñhāa (honoñhāa)	unuñsuñ.“

„If from the foregoing list we omit the terminal suffixes haa and suñ, which differ in the two languages, the close resemblance of the prefixed pronouns is apparent.

To form the verbal transitions, as they are termed, in which the action of a transitive verb passes from an agent to an object, both languages prefix the pronouns, in a combined form, to the verb, saying „I-thee love“, „thou-me lovest“, and the like. These combined pronouns are similar in the two languages, as the following examples will show:

	Iroquois	Cherokee
I-thee	koñ, or koñye	guñya
I-him	ria, hia	tsiya
He-me	raka, haka	akwa
He-us	soñkwa	teawka
Thou-him	hia	hiya
Thou-them	s'heia	tegihya
They-me	roñke, hoñke	guñkwa
They-us	yoñke	teyawka.“

<sup>1</sup>) The Huron is the mother-tongue of the Iroquois dialects. In the words comprised in these lists, the letters have the German sounds except that the ñ represents the French nasal *n*, and the ù is the short English *u* in but.

A comparative list of other common words in the two languages was also given in the essay, to reinforce this evidence; but I presume the resemblance shown in these pronominal forms will be deemed to afford ample proof of my proposition. If a like similarity could be shown between the pronouns of a Polynesian and an American language, no philologist, I feel sure, would doubt that we were on the trace of a most important linguistic connection between the two continents.

Pursuing the inquiry under this point of view, I have carefully compared the pronouns in all the languages of the west coast of America, for which the materials are at hand, with those of the leading Polynesian tongues. In the latter I have had recourse to my „Comparative Grammar of the Polynesian Dialects“. As this grammar, though published in 1846, has not been superseded by any later compendium, and as it is cited by Dr. Müller in his recent work as still the best authority in the subject, the reference to it for this purpose will not be deemed presumptuous. For the American languages I have consulted (besides my own collections in Oregon) the works of Gallatin, Dall, Petitot, Tolmie and Dawson, Boas, Powers, Bancroft, Brinton, Stoll and F. Müller. The comparative list of pronouns, gathered from these sources, is annexed as an appendix to this essay.

The result of this comparison must dispel all expectation, if any were entertained, of tracing a connection between the Polynesian and the American idioms, so far as these are now known. There is no resemblance between the pronouns of any one of the American languages and those of any Polynesian dialect, except such mere casual similarity as every investigator will at once ascribe to accident. The resemblance of the Thlinkit *woe* to the Polynesian *oe*, or of the Tshinuk *ia* *zka* to the Polynesian *ia*, is certainly not so striking as the resemblance of the Tarascan *thu* and the Mixe *hee* to the English *thou* and *he*.

It will still be proper to inquire whether among the American languages whose grammar has been studied, some

similarities to Polynesian forms cannot be found, which will seem worthy of further investigation. Such examination as I have been able to make shows, in fact, certain resemblances, but they all belong to the class which philologists are unanimous in ascribing not to direct genetic connection, but to that similar working of the human faculties in widely distant races which goes to prove the unity of the species. Among these resembling forms may be mentioned the use of reduplication in expressing the plural number. In several of the languages of Western America, particularly in those of the Mexican (or Nahuatl-Sonoran) family and some of the tongues of Oregon, the method of reduplication, usually of the first syllable of a noun or an adjective, for indicating plurality, is common. In the Nahuatl tongue, *kalli*, house, has for its plural *kakalli*, *micqui*, the dead, has *mîmicquê*, and so on. In the Pima of Sonora, *hota*, stone, makes *hohota*; in the Tarahumara, *muki*, woman, makes *mumuki*. Further northward, we have in the Kizh, a language of California, belonging to the Shoshonian stock, *kitsh*, house, making its plural *kikitsh*, and *tshinui*, small, making *tshitshinui*. In the Sahaptin of Oregon, *pitin*, girl, makes *pipitin*; *tahs*, good, *titahts*. The Malayo-Polynesian languages use reduplication for various purposes, one of which is for indicating plurality. But, rather singularly, this use in the proper Polynesian dialects is restricted to the adjective, and is not applied to the noun. Thus we find in the Samoan language, *laau tele*, large tree (literally „tree large“), pl. *laau tetele*, large trees; in the Tongan, *tofoa lahi*, great whale, *tofoa lalahi*, great whales; in New-Zealand, *ika pai*, good fish, *ika papai*, good fishes; in Paumotu, *erire wiru*, good woman, *erire wiruwiru*, good women; in Tahitian, *taata maitai*, good man, *taata maitatai*, good men.

If however, we are asked to suppose from this similarity of form a kinship between the Polynesian and American tongues, we shall be forced to extend the bounds of this kindred very widely indeed. We shall have to include in it the languages of the Japanese, of the Bushmen of South Africa, of

the Chicasas in eastern America, and several others. But, in fact, so natural is this method of expressing the plural number that our only surprise is to find it not more common. The Count de Charencey, in his treatise on the „Chichimecan family“, well observes on this point: „One cannot deny that this procedure offers the mind something very logical, very satisfying. This repetition of the first syllable of the word has been, evidently, the result of the alteration of an older system, which consisted in repeating the word itself to form the plural. It is certainly more natural to resort to this method for indicating number than to employ it, as various Indo-European and Uralian idioms have done, to express the past tense of the verb.“

Another apparent resemblance is seen in the double form of the first person plural, which is found in the Polynesian tongues and in several of the American languages. These idioms make the well-known distinction between the „we“ which includes the person addressed and the „we“ which excludes him. Examples of these distinctive forms will be found in the annexed lists. It is hardly necessary to repeat that such a mere resemblance in form, where there is no similarity of words, and where the distinction of meaning indicated by the form is a natural one, likely to occur to the first framers of any language, cannot be deemed to afford any proof of relationship. Here, also, our surprise is rather to find this form of plural so rare, and that only two of the western American tongues, the Tshinuk in the north and the Quichua in the south, seem to possess it. Among the eastern American idioms it is more common.

The result of our inquiry is to show that no traces of affiliation between the languages of America and those of Polynesia have thus far been discovered. This, it may be added, is only what might have been expected, and that for a very plain reason. America was undoubtedly peopled long before Polynesia. However much any one may be inclined to question the claims of an immense antiquity which have been made for the earliest population of the western continent,

there can be no reasonable doubt that considerably more than three thousand years have elapsed since it was first inhabited. But late researches have shown that the peopling of the Polynesian islands is a comparatively recent event. As is well known, when these islands were first discovered by European explorers, and the fact was disclosed that they were inhabited by a homogeneous population, speaking dialects of one language, a theory was proposed to account for this fact. It was suggested that the islands were the remains of a vast inhabited continent, which in some past age of the world had sunk almost entirely beneath the waters, leaving its scattered mountain-tops as the refuges for the surviving remnants of its population. The later investigations of geologists and ethnologists have disposed of this theory. The clear traditions of the islanders, and the decisive evidence of their language, show them to be emigrants who have reached their present abodes from south-eastern Asia in modern times. It is established by unquestionable proof that the two westernmost clusters of Polynesia, the Samoan or Navigator Islands and the Tongan or Friendly Islands, were the mother-groups whence all the eastern and southern islands from Hawaii in the north to New-Zealand in the south, and the Paumotus, the Gambier group, and Easter Island in the far east, have been peopled. The natives of those mother-groups (Samoa and Tonga) have themselves a tradition that their first inhabitants came from an island in the far west called Burotu, which has been supposed, with much probability to be the island of Bouro in the East Indian Archipelago. It is very unlikely, from all the circumstances, that the event commemorated by this tradition can have occurred more than three thousand years ago. But, however this may be, it is reasonably certain that the easternmost (as well as the northern) Polynesian groups have been peopled within the Christian era, and some of them at very recent dates. For these dates, and for the evidence by which they are established, I must refer to the masterly work of M. de Quatrefages, „Les Polynésiens et leurs Migrations“, and to the lucid summary of our latest knowledge on the subject contained in the recent



publication of the same distinguished author, „Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages.“ It will be sufficient to say that the earliest settlement in eastern Polynesia, next to that of Tahiti (of which the date is uncertain), appears to have been made in the Marquesas (Nukuhiva), somewhat less than two thousand years ago. The Sandwich Islands were peopled in the seventh century after Christ, — Rarotonga and the Gambier Islands (Mangareva) in the thirteenth century, — New-Zealand in the fifteenth century and the Austral Islands less than three hundred years ago. In fact, the colonization of the Pacific islands by the Polynesian race was still going on in the time of Cook, and is even yet not completed. In the middle of the present century the eight easternmost coral islands of the Paumotu or Low Archipelago, which stretches from Tahiti to the neighborhood of the Gambier group, had not yet been peopled. And it is well known that the mutineers of the *Bounty* found the fertile and inviting island on which they took refuge, and conferred celebrity, uninhabited.

There is a curious synchronism between the peopling of these Pacific groups and that of some islands of the Atlantic. The Sandwich Islands were settled only about two centuries earlier than Iceland and the Faroe Islands; and the Gambier group and Rarotonga were colonized some four centuries later than these Atlantic islands. New Zealand received its population shortly before Madeira and the Azores were settled; and Rimatara and the other Austral Islands of Polynesia were peopled shortly after that event. The great wave of humanity, spreading eastward and westward from some common centre, and arrested for a time on the farthest coasts of Asia and Europe, seems to have passed those bounds and reached the islands of the two dividing oceans at nearly the same period.

It is of course not impossible, nor very improbable, that after the eastern islands of Polynesia had thus been peopled, canoes bearing natives of those islands may occasionally have made their way to the west coast of America. But if the occupants of those canoes found the coast on which they

landed already peopled, as must certainly have been the case, they would (if not massacred on landing) have been speedily absorbed in that earlier population, leaving no impression that could now be traced.

Our reply, therefore, to the question cited from the programme must be that no grammatical affinities, indicating a connection between the Polynesian idioms and those of western America, have yet been discovered. It is proper to add that a few isolated languages of the American coast are known, such as the Xinca of Guatemala, the Mangué of Nicaragua, and the Guaymi of Panama, of which the vocabularies that we have do not comprise the pronouns. Of these languages all that can be said is that the words which we possess in them are totally unlike the corresponding Polynesian words. On the whole, it may be affirmed, that so far as our present knowledge extends, the theory which would trace the origin of the population of America, or any portion of it, to the Polynesian race, finds no countenance in the testimony of language, and is made extremely improbable by the evidence of the very recent appearance of that race in the eastern Pacific islands.

Pronouns in the Languages of Polynesia and of Western America.<sup>1)</sup>

	I	thou	he	we (inc.)	we (exc.)	ye	they
<b>Polynesian.</b>							
Tonga . . . . .	au, u, ku	koe, ke	ia, ne	mautolu, mau	tautolu, tau	moutolu, mou	nautolu, mau
Samoa . . . . .	au, o'u, u	'oe, e	ia	matou	tatou	'outou, tou	latou
Tahiti . . . . .	van	'oe	'oia	matou	tatou	'outou	ratou
Nukuhiva . . . . .	au	koe, 'oe	ia	matou	tatou	koutou, 'outou	atou
Hawaii . . . . .	au	'oe	ia, aia	matou	tatou	'outou	lafou
Rarotonga . . . . .	au	koe	ia	matou	tatou	kofou	rafou
New Zealand . . . . .	hau	koc	ia	matou	tatou	koutou	ratou
Paumotu . . . . .	au	koe	ia	matou	tatou	koutou	rateu
Mangareva . . . . .	au	koe	ia	matou	tatou	koutou	ratou
<b>American.</b>							
Eskimo . . . . .	uwana	ilint	ona	uwayut	--	ilipse	okkoak
Tinne . . . . .	si	nen	edini	nuuni	--	nuuni	eyene
Thlinkit . . . . .	zat	woe	lu, i	olan, ha	--	riwan, ri	has
Tshimsian . . . . .	nurio	nirun	nendut	nirun	--	nirisun	dupneut
Haida . . . . .	tlaa, dea	danga	laa	etla, d'alanga	--	dalinga	laa
Kwakiutl . . . . .	yu	yutl	yu'k	unluhants	--	suhdakw	lahdahn
Nootka . . . . .	siya	suwa	yauh	newa, nowa	--	sewa	üttçak
Selish . . . . .	koiaa	anui	tsaniltis	kaepulu	--	nipilapstamp	tsaniitits
Kutenai . . . . .	kaminu	uniko	ninkoils	kaminatia	--	ninkoutisgitl	ninkoisis
Sahaptin . . . . .	in	in	ipi	un	--	ima	ima
Wailatpu . . . . .	ining	niki	nip	namuk	--	nkimiç	nipik
Tshinuk . . . . .	naika	maika	iajka	ntçaika	alçaika	uçaika	tylaitçka
Kalapuya . . . . .	tçi	maha	koka	soto	--	miti	kinuk
Yakon . . . . .	kone	niz	kwout-si	kwonahatzha	--	nihapst	kawatatzha
Klamuth . . . . .	no	i	hot	nat	--	at	pat
Shaste . . . . .	mai	mai	hina	waka	--	miawut	inna
Palaik . . . . .	it	pijka	pijka	ituiç	--	meo	kunche
Shohoni . . . . .	kwau, ui	emai, i	ton	tami	--	içu (?)	imui (?)

Shohoni . . . . .	kwau, ni	ket	yok	nekha	meo	kunché
Karok . . . . .	nek	im	pai	novakevavon	icu (?)	imui (?)
Chimariko . . . . .	na	mamot	pamot	—	—	—
Wishosk . . . . .	uoot	kil	gon	kiwalth	—	—
Yuki . . . . .	yil	meh, mi	kih, te	us, isa	mi	tsounla
Pomo . . . . .	uñpil	ama	hamo	aya	amaioh	hamutça
Wintun . . . . .	aa	mi	witah	wineh	kaat	betaro
Maïdu . . . . .	ni, net	mih	momh	niçem	mimem	anam
Mutsun . . . . .	niki	men	wak	makse	makam	aïsa
Yokuts . . . . .	kan	mah	nuttung	naan	maan	anan
Santa Barbara . . . . .	nah	mah	gugv	gizgun	meagai-gizgu	gugunouno
Guaicuri . . . . .	noo	bii	tutau	kate	pete	gugunouno
Nahuatl . . . . .	be	ei	ye	tewan	amewan	yewan
Tarascan . . . . .	ne	te	hinde	hutça	thutça	hitça
Miztecan . . . . .	hi	thu	ña, ya, ta	ndoo	doho	ta, yukua
Matlatzincan . . . . .	dahun, ndza	diya, ndo	intewi	kakowiti	katçowi	intewe
Zapotecan . . . . .	kaki	kahatçi	nike, ke	taonç, no	lato, to	nike, ke
Mixe . . . . .	naa, ya, a	lohni, lo	ti, hee	ootz	—	yao
Maya . . . . .	otz	mitz	lai, are	toon, oç	te-es, is	loob, z <sup>e</sup>
Orotina . . . . .	ten, in	tetç, at	ikau	hetçelu	hetçela	ikann
Talamancas . . . . .	iku	ika	sede	satawarke	sehetçte	bezo
Bribri . . . . .	behe	tçisi	ye	sa	ha	yepa
Yunka . . . . .	dje	be	ayo	möitz	tsöitç	ayöñn
Quichua . . . . .	moiñ	tsaü	pay	nokantçyik	kamtçyik	paykuna
Molache . . . . .	ñoka	kam	teye	intçin	eimeñ	teyeneñ
Jagan . . . . .	intçe	eimi	köndzin	keiau	san	köndean
	hei	sa				

\*) This list comprises the principal Polynesian dialects, but (in general) only one American language from each linguistic stock. The vowels are to be sounded as in German (except that the *ü* represents the short English *u* in "but") — the consonants generally as in English. The *ç* represents the English *sh*, and the *ñ* the French nasal *n*. The (Greek  $\gamma$  stands for the German *ch*. The apostrophe (') indicates a hiatus, or catching of the breath

